2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

ent article of apparel was the rabbitskin blanket, which served also as bedding. It was common to both the Great Basin and California areas. The general term for clothing is i'twa.

Both sexes formerly wore the hair long, and usually unconfined. Both wore buckskin moccasins, the uppers of which were sometimes colored with red mineral paint.

Two mineral paints were employed; a white, called ti'pek, and a red, called sawa'sañ. These were used chiefly for face painting.

Practically all vestiges of these aboriginal customs are now gone, and the Washo are attired in every way as are their white neighbors.

MATERIAL CULTURE.

HOUSES.

The habitations, da'ñal, of the Washo are of two kinds: the permanent winter house of slabs, called ka'lis tañal, literally winter house; and the summer brush shelter. The former is illustrated in plate II,[1] the latter in plate III, fig. 1.[2] The slab house resembles that of the Miwok to the west, and informants maintained that in ancient times it was built in exactly the same manner, being a simple cone. At the present time it is invariably built with an elliptical ground plan about eight by twelve feet in dimensions and with a ridge about four or five feet long. Its height is usually about eight feet. It is made by leaning slabs of cedar and other conifer barks so that they overlap so as to effectually keep out the rain and snow. No center pole or ridge pole is required, the slabs being so placed as to support themselves. In the middle of one side of the house is built a short covered way with an outer door. This vestibule, shown in plate II, fig. 1, in a dilapidated condition, is never more than six feet long and perhaps five feet high. This house differs very materially from the usual Paviotso house of the Pyramid Lake and Walker River regions, which is a hemispherical structure, thatched with tule. A conical house with tule thatch was formerly sometimes built by the Washo.

[1] [see cat. 116, p. 31 -- An.]
[2] [see cat. 116, p. 33 -- An.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

BASKETRY.

285 The Washo are quite justly renowned as makers of fine, coiled basketry. Certain of the Washo women make very smooth and excellent baskets and employ a great variety of designs. In many [171] respects the basketry of the Washo closely resembles that of the Miwok to the west. Particularly is this the case with the coiled basketry. The twined basketry, on the other hand, resembles that [482] of the Paviotso, especially the diagonal-twined cooking basket (plate VII, fig. 2),[2] the two types of burden basket (plate XIII, figs. 3-6),[3] and the two types of winnowing basket (plate XI,[4] and plate XII, figs. 1 and 2).

MATERIALS.

285 The principal materials used by the Washo in basketry are 824 derived from the willow, *Salix*, which yields both unpeeled and peeled rods. These form the only foundation materials in coiling and the hard elements in twining. The inner bark of the willow furnishes the white sewing and twining elements and, when discolored in the sun, also a brown element.

The only other basketry materials used by the Washo are the root of the bracken, *Pteridium aquilinum*, which provides a black element, and the redbud, *Cercis occidentalis*, the bark of which furnishes a red element. This is obtained from the Miwok to the [439] west as it is not an indigenous shrub to the Washo country, and [137] is therefore sparingly used.

285 The following tabulation gives the Washo names of these various materials: 192

Willow	hi'mū
Unpeeled rods	mi'mū
Peeled rods	agaiye'we
Peeled rods coiled for storage	pelesū'sūyewe
Brown sewing element	hīmū toto'coñi (literally, "willow sunburned"), also podocoñē'we, and poto'soñ

[1] [see cat. 116, p. 41--An.]
[2] [see cat. 116, p. 53 -- An.] [4] [see cat. 116, P. 57 --
[3] [see cat. 116, p. 49 -- An.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

285
192

White sewing element	ta'bak
Bracken root	mecawē'gacĭ, mecewē'gasi
Redbud bark	dŏbĭ'mûs takpasa (literally "Miwok Indians sent"), or ĭtpasa'

TECHNICS.

285 Five technics are employed by the Washo. Two of these are plain and diagonal twining, and two are coiled technics; the three-rod foundation, and the single-rod foundation. The three-rod foundation coiling is called helme de mĭ'mû or tsiñam ce'mû by the Washo, while the single-rod foundation coiling is called baiyûta'ti. No names for the two twined technics were obtainable from the several informants consulted. Examples of these technics are shown as follows: plate XII, figs. 1 and 2 show plain-twined baskets, and plate VII, fig. 2 shows a diagonal-twined basket. The three-rod foundation is found in figure 1 of plate VII, and in plates VIII[1] and IX,[2] while single-rod coiling is represented in plate X. An interesting feature of the last named technic is that many of these baskets are made with the pliable elements carefully spaced so as to form exact and symmetrically placed, radiating lines extending from the starting point of the basket. This leaves exposed a large part of the foundation material but produces a rather pleasing effect in which the lines of sewing elements become ornamental. Such baskets are shown in figs. 3 and 6 of this plate. The fifth technic is three-strand twining, which is used only to reinforce the points of burden baskets, and in starting knots for the twined cooking baskets. As the outer surface of a basket is viewed, all twining progresses in a clockwise direction, while the reverse is the case with coiling.

[531]

Border Finishes.

About the opening of the burden basket is bound a hoop and about half way down its inner surface is attached a second hoop

[1] [see cat. 116, p. 43 - - An.] [3] [see cat. 116, p. 47. An.]
[2] [see cat. 116, p. 45 - - An.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

285 The other border finish on coiled baskets has been found only on those of three-rod foundation and is in effect the above mentioned finish running in both directions so as to cross, and produce much the same appearance as the "herring bone" border found in the basketry of some tribes. Such a border is shown in plate IX, fig. 7.

FORMS.

285 •192 Washo basketry shows a relatively wide range of forms, each with its specific native name. The following tabulation records these forms and the native terms for each and shows the differentiations made by the Washo in the various classes, as for instance in the burden basket, where a difference in technic or in fineness of weave and the resultant difference in use in each case calls for a special name.

Basket	tsiña'm
[482] Burden baskets	
Coarsely woven, plain-twined technic Plate XIII, fig. 6.	mama'i
Coarsely woven, diagonal-twined technic Plate XIII, figs. 4 and 5.	tatûba'bûli
Small basket, same as above	mamaiña'mi
Closely woven, diagonal-twined technic Plate XIII, fig. 3.	mugi'wut
Coarsely woven, unpeeled material, plain-twined technic Plate XIII, fig. 1.	ltma'gû, darû tso'hoi
[412] Seed beater, Plate XIII, fig. 2.	tapûli tugĕ'bûl
Handle of seed beater	ta'pûl
Body of seed beater	tugĕ'bûl acû
Winnowing basket	
Coarsely woven Plate XII, figs. 1 and 2.	tugĕ'bûl
Finely woven Plate XI.	mûda'l
[352] Cradle, Plate XII, fig. 3.	pi'kûs
Fish basket	metsayĕ'ûl

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

285
Mush cooking basket in diagonal-twined technic, cylindrical
Plate VII, fig. 2. kûya'nda
192
Small coiled basket of any form used for serving food tsiña'm
[252]
Plate VIII, figs. 2-5; plate IX.
Coiled basket of truncated cone form gi'ûleû
Plate VII, fig. 1; plate VIII.
Very small basket of truncated cone form, used as a cup and for serving food i't mahadas
Plate VIII, fig. 1.
Canoe-form or elliptical basket taiyûta'ti
(said to be a new form)
Plate X, figs. 1 and 4.
Small coiled basket with strongly curved sides and small opening tsiñam degîkûp*, dêûleli'we
Plate IX, fig. 3.

285
Burden baskets are, as a rule, very sharply conical. It is unusual
482
to see one with even slightly rounded sides such as that shown in figure 4 of plate XIII. All are strengthened at the point of the cone by a few extra courses of three-strand twining. These baskets are used very roughly and the point soon wears through. It is then reinforced by a rawhide or buckskin patch as is shown in figures 3, 4, and 6 of the same plate.

285
The cradle is of the usual Great Basin type with detachable
352
woven sun shade bearing a design indicative of the sex of its occu-
171
pant. The one shown in plate XII, fig. 3, is a girl's cradle. The design usually employed on a boy's cradle is a series of diagonal parallel lines as shown in text figure 4.

DESIGNS.

285
The limited time available did not permit a careful study of
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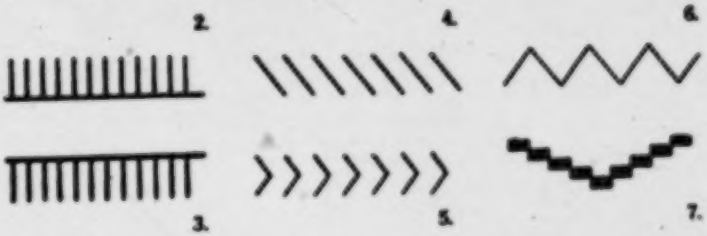
Washo basketry designs which, in general, are fairly elaborate, as will be seen by referring to plates VII-XI. Much more elementary designs appear in the older baskets, indicating, as is borne out
[171]

*degîkûp signifies "curved in at the top."

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

285 531 [177] by the information obtained from the Washo, that many of these elaborate designs are copied from the basketry of other tribes or from trade objects and are used in these baskets to make them more saleable. The following limited number of design names were obtained.

531 192 Any horizontal straight line such as the plain band of design running about a basket, any streak of color, or any line or band running around an object, such as a hat band, a rope around a tree, or the like, is called dogo'yaû gi"gal, literally "straight line horizontal." See plate X, figs. 6 and 7.



Any short vertical line extending upward from a design or from another line, as in fig. 2, is called dogo'yaû eliwe, literally "straight line up."

Any short, vertical line extending downward from another design, as in fig. 3, is called dogo'yaû eti, literally "straight line down."

A series of short slanting straight lines, as in fig. 4, is called tegûbile'cûwe, which signifies "twisted on", and is derived from tegû'bila, "crooked, bent over, or twisted", and e'cûwe, "on".

A design such as is shown in fig. 5 is called tatsi'tac, signifying "corners." From tatsi'lgac, "a corner".

Any zigzag design, whether a simple zigzag, as in fig. 6, or a more complex one, as in fig. 7, is called tegûkû'lkûl, translated "zigzag" and said to be derived from tegû'bila, signifying "crooked, bent over, or twisted".

Practically any triangular design is referred to as "arrow-head", (matca'tl). The arrow-head design may be combined into a number of different, more complex figures. The simplest form of arrow-

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

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head design is a series of triangles such as is shown in figs. 8 and 9, and called respectively matca'tĭ eti, "arrow-head down", and matca'tĭ epûs, "arrow-head up". One of the most frequently occurring designs in Washo baskets is a combination of these two, in which the triangles run in two parallel rows opposite each other, and

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which is called matcatĭ le'lûp, literally "arrow-head opposed". This same name was given to the design shown in fig. 11, though a parallelogram is combined with the two arrow-heads. The design shown in fig. 10 is called simply "arrow-head" (matca'tĭ), the term referring both to the large triangle and to the small serrations along its upper edges. No qualifying terms were used by informants for either design separately. The designs shown in figs. 12 and 13 were also called simply "arrow-head".

12.

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The designs shown in figs. 14 and 15 are called tegi'lai, a term which was translated by one informant as "circle" but which really signifies an enclosure of any kind.

The design shown in fig. 16 is called gegi'cipa, translated by informants as "connected enclosures."

The design shown in fig. 17 is called tegilai eli'we, translated as "enclosure up." The term refers to the ascending series of parallelograms but does not take into account the small arrow-heads connected with these figures.

The design shown in fig. 18 is called ta'gûm hahat, translated as "crossed."

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

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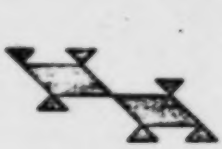
192

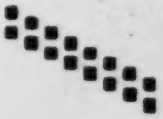
The design of small squares or dots shown in fig. 19 is called dagubolóye'cûe, translated as "little spots in lines."

The design shown in fig. 21 is called tegûkû'îkûi tagûm hahat, translated "zigzag crossed."



17.

18.



19.

The two designs shown in figs. 20 and 22 are called mû'tkûsa, translated "forked."

Not all the baskets shown in the accompanying plates were available when the information concerning basketry designs was

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obtained but informants were questioned on a considerable number of other designs than those given above. No other terms were [177] obtainable. Very frequently they stated that the design under consideration "had no name", or that it was a "new style" design, indicating that it was copied after some whiteman's pattern.

CONCLUSION.

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It thus appears that the Washo have certain strong cultural affinities with their neighbors of the California area on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada. These relationships appear particularly in the use of the conical slab dwelling and the semi-subterranean ceremonial house; in the boulder mortar, cobblestone pestle, and soap-root meal brush; in the adoption of the acorn as a food; and in the prominence of certain types of fine, coiled bas-

4:Downs E-6 (no date) 1961 HTM Washo HTM

[P. 369, A]

CURING AND SHAMANISM

(1939-1941)

756 [192] The Washo word da'maa'li' has a wide range of meanings which include almost all people with supernatural powers, including curers of several orders. The terms which they use when discussing the subject in English are somewhat more precise and will be used in this paper.

The Washo make a distinction between curers (2594-96) and Indian doctors. The latter, as will be shown, are true shamans whereas the former are somewhat less powerful. Curers appear to be women who have certain powers revealed to them in dreams. Such persons are usually members of what the Washo describe as a "doctor family." An informant described the activities of such a curer:

> "My mother was a curer. She just smoke and talk. You would meet her on the way to town maybe and say 'I don't feel good' and she'd just sit down and smoke and talk [pray?] a little and then maybe tell you what was wrong and what you should do.
>
> [755] "Along about the first war I get sick and couldn't make no water at all. My mother smoked and then spread ashes all over my belly and talked some and after that I passed a lot of blood and got better."

For more important than the curers, however, were the Indian doctors. Such men were never exclusive specialists and were apparently expected to share in the work of hunting and fishing with less gifted men. [177] With the introduction of money by the whites, shamans [436] appear to have approached something like specialization, charging fees of up to twenty dollars a session for their services.

Until the middle 1930's there were a number of shamans among the Washo (Stewart 1944). However, with the introduction of the peyote cult, which among the Washo is concerned with curing, the shaman was superseded. Today only a single Washo practices shamanistic curing. Interestingly enough this man, now 756 115 seventy-five, was an informant of Lowie's in the 1920's, [87] and at that time Lowie described him as a sophisticated young Washo, somewhat mystic and with shamanistic ambitions (Lowie 1939).

This man, Henry Rupert, spent ten years in the Indian school at the Stewart Agency and after graduation worked for a number of years in a printing plant in Reno. When questioned about the old days he was a fair informant, seldom offering more information than was asked for and clearly enjoying the business of making a white man work for every scrap of information. He was also given to dropping subtle hints and waiting with stolid indifference to see if I had been alert. He did not deny his shamanistic practices but was less than willing to discuss them in detail.

[534] His equipment, he admitted (but refused to show me), [237] consisted of a butterfly-cocoon rattle, an eagle-bone whistle, and a feather headband. "I don't really do nothing but help nature," he said. When I replied that only some people know how to help nature he was

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[1] Regular Indian doctors were forbidden to treat members of their own families, a prohibition which appears not to have extended to a non-shamanistic curer.

1855 - Orson Hyde organized the town of Genoa. At the close of the year there was a population of about 200 at Genoa and about 200 at Gold Canyon. 175

Jules Remy and Robert Brenchley (1860, 45) collected the following Washo vocabulary from "Three ragged Indians" they met after two days of travel eastward from Genoa (13 1/2 hours actual travel time) along the Carson River. 175 192

"Soko, horse	Chuiep, nose
Pacha, book	Tatu, hand
Tsui, knife	Ouh, hat
Paiong, gun	Oneia, water
Kimokaga, percussion cap	Uikas, trousers
Tsiuch, hair	Mallo, belt
Tiak, teeth	Aiaga, no
Uita, eyes	Aga, yes"
Anga, mouth	

1856 - "Snowshoe" Thompson began to carry the mail from Genoa to Sacramento (Nevada 1940, 37). 175

Garland Hurt in a letter to Brigham Young said "There is another small tribe called the Was-saws, who live mostly on the Sierra Nevada mountains, but claim the Carson as their land, and have made several attempts to collect rent off the settlers, but being not very numerous, have found a mild course the better policy" (Hurt 1856). [644]

1857 - Samuel Brannan led a Mormon party that sailed around the horn to San Francisco, assembled at Placerville, went over the Sierras past Woodfords, and on to Salt Lake City.

Capt. Jim of the Washo organized a gift enterprise in which the Whites were invited and brought one or two sacks of flour ($6 a sack in value), there was Indian entertainment, and then the White guests were each given one buckskin ($1 in value). 648 175 [577] [435] [431]

John McMartin and James Williams were killed by Washo while on their way to California in charge of seperate pack trains from Mormon Station (Thompson and West 1881, 147). Some historians claim that the two men were killed by Whites. Also see Hopkins (1883, 44).

A Washo raid known as the Potato War occurred when Washo harvested, without permission, the three acres of potatoes of William Morehead who lived 2 1/2 miles northwest of Milford, California (Farris and Smith 1882, 385). [721]

is more than a few miles from running water. The importance of bathing in Washo ritual life made access to water particularly important. Springs were considered choice wintering sites because the water never froze over.

Material Culture

The following outline gives the main items of Washo material production. Almost all of these items have separate terms in the Washo language. Most of the terminology not included may be found in the vocabularies by Merriam (1904 and 1904-1933) and Kroeber (1907). The author's field data are supplemented here primarily by the works of Dangberg (1919) and Stewart (1941).

A. Housing and related items.
1. Winter house of poles, branches, sod, etc. in a conical form (galis dangal). Plate V, A illustrates a galis dangal.
2. Windbreak of branches in a half-dome form (gashu), Plate V, B.
3. Shade of various forms (ta?a).
4. Hunting and fishing blinds (ma?angal).
5. Meat drying scaffold (hiali).
6. Bed (tada), seat (itkolanga), and mat (maba) of woven sagebrush bark.
7. Fireplace (diyu itgumaʧwʧ) and torch (ulu ushi).
8. Log footbridge (mogahat).
9. Log ladder (hakmanga).
10. Fish dam (imbeshuk).

B. Clothing and ornaments.
1. Blankets or robes of whole skins or woven from strips of rabbit skin (dayoliti and umbidu). (Plate IV, C).
2. Deer or antelope skin clothing.
   a. belt (mellu)
   b. breechclout (gumyoyabuwa)
   c. poncho (damu)
   d. skirt (tatlupʧl)
   e. dress (manqumtash)
   f. apron (imboshude)
   g. moccasins (moko)
   h. headband (ihʧpberyʧgul)
3. Leggings (pʧkishu wigas), woman's napkin, and baby diaper of sagebrush bark.
4. Hairnet of fiber cord (magodihʧp).
5. Round snowshoes (shumelli) with wood rim and bark or skin network.
6. Bracelet (mʧlluryʧk), necklace (umlʧsuk), and ear pendant of bone, plant, or shell (madap) beads (makau).
7. Hafted and unhafted bone or stone drills.
8. Body paints of red (sawasan), yellow (waltastaini), and white (dipak) in mineral pigments and charcoal for black (wʧlyauwi).
9. Feathers (taiauapo), especially of magpie or eagle.
10. Scratching bone for tattooes.

1/1 [see end plate V, following p. 74 — Analyst]

faster. After two or three years it may be given to an older person or traded off. If it is cleaned and repaired carefully and hung up in the summer over the lower limb of a tree with the warp vertical, it will last ten years or more

Lowie (1939, 327) wrote that in preparing a blanket "The men tore the skin from the legs with their hands, then cut the hides into strings. The string was wound around small straight willow sticks. String was twisted into one piece 14 feet long. After drying them a day and a half, they would take them down. Twenty five made one jack-rabbit blanket to cover two people. When first finished, they were 2 1/2 inches thick and so warm that in winter the Indians would undress completely under such a covering. A blanket lasted three years, but the hunt was held every fall, after October. The owner of an extra skin might sell it for a buckskin to a man who lacked a good jack-rabbit blanket."

A few comments on the above passage are warranted. My informants indicated that the skins were purposely not dried so they would remain flexible and easy to work with.[1] Also the exchange rate was about 20 rabbit skins for one untanned deer skin and not one for one. A completed rabbit skin blanket of 20 skins was worth about three untanned deer skins.

Rabbits to be used for blankets were gathered in the late fall or winter when their fur was thick. The skin was taken off and cut into a single strip a little over an inch wide and around 15 feet long. An obsidian knife (tagil) was held in the mouth while the skin was held by the hands. The skin was cut around on the outside, with the hind legs first, in a spiral by cutting and turning the skin.

From three to six skins of one strip apiece were sewn end to end with deer sinew (dideu) to form a long string. Roy James said that each rabbit skin string was tied in a loop from one end to the eye holes. Two of the long strings (or several attached looped strings) were then twisted together with the palm of the hand on the thigh of one man while another man held the two strings tight several feet away. When twisted the strings were about an inch in diameter. The man who twisted the strings also wound up the strings on a stick (gʔliwisha tsuhua). The stick was pointed at one end to facilitate the removal of the twisted strings when the twisting and winding operation was complete.

The long two ply string when it was rolled up and tied with sinew for storage was called a tʔlʔlupa. A single tʔlʔlupa was stored in a damp place until other tʔlʔlupa were prepared and the blanket was ready to be made.

1. Cf., Dangberg n.d.

The skin was tied on a smooth pole when it was scraped. The hide was then tanned with cooked brain and spinal cord which was stored in a piece of intestine. The hide was soaked in the brain for a day or two and then stretched and scraped again. The result was magu tau susi, or tanned deer hide. Antelope skins were prepared in the same way. 281 [415]

Thread came from the sinew (dideu or tashukido, "loin sinew") along the back of the deer. There is a strip of meat on the loin of the deer called dashkapush. This was removed and the sinew was taken off that and separated into strings. 283

Another kind of thread was made from Apocynum cannabinum, locally milkweed or Indian hemp. The fine silk-like fibers of this plant were separated, pulled, and twisted between the palm of the hand and the thigh into a strong twine (dumbaysɛ̌gi). It was collected in the fall after the frost came and the outer bark began to fall off. Both the outer and inner bark were used. [824]

Apparently there was little difference in the dress of the men and the women. The women wore a belt (melliu) with a front and sometimes a back apron (imboshude) attached. The women also used a sagebrush bark napkin for menstruation and wore more jewelry. The men wore a G-string type of breechclout and occasionally a twine net on their heads. Other than these few items, dress, hair style, and ornamentation was essentially the same. 29

The breechclout was gumyoyabuwe while a piece of skin wrapped around the body from the chest to the knees was mangumtash. The latter was formed, according to Hank Pete, by wetting untanned deerhide and wrapping it around a tree to dry. A poncho (damu) with a hole for the head and with or without holes for the arms was made from a single deer skin. This simple dress sometimes had flaps that hung down over the upper arms made from the leg skin of the deer. Lower leg pants (pɛ̌kishu wigas) were made from an untanned deer hide, sewn of the skin of a fur animal, or of a wrapping of sagebrush bark and covered the lower leg from the ankle to the knee to keep one from being scratched by brush. [192]

Everyone went barefoot most of the time, but moccasins (moko, the No. Paiute use a similiar word) were used. The most common moccasin was a single piece of untanned deerskin with a seam on the outer side of the foot and up the heel to the ankle. A hard sole may be added to the bottom. Another type of moccasin was in two pieces with a hard sole, soft upper part, a seam up the heel, and possible ankle flaps and a tongue added. In cold weather the moccasin was made extra large to allow room for a sock of sagebrush or cedar bark wrapped around the foot. [197] [824]

and slightly roasted in hot sand. This would form a sort of rouge stick. It was also applied on previously greased skin. 302 386

The yellow (waltsatsini) and black (wčlyauwi) pigments were mixed with fat or grease. Black came from a mineral, powder, or soot. These colors stayed on only a short time, the black an hour or two and the yellow slightly longer.

The white pigment (dipčk) was a chalk mixed with water that would stay about as long as the black. One place this was gathered was in the south central end of Carson Valley. [317]

One design for war was red all over and then 1/2 black and 1/2 white over that. This was thought to make the warrior partially invisible. When the tribe divided for games the west side (tanglelčl tayadi) would paint their faces red, braid their hair, and would not wear a feather. The east side (paolelčl tayadi) used white face paint and wore an eagle feather in their hair. [726] [789] [616] [526]

Houses

Ingalls (1913, 23) wrote "They are more filthy than beasts, and live in habitations which, summer and winter, are nothing more than circular inclosures, about five feet high, without roof, made of artemisia or sage-brush, or branches of cedar thrown around on the circumference of a circle, and which serve only to break the wind. As the temperature in winter must at times be as low as zero, it will be perceived they must suffer considerably. Anything like a covered lodge, or wick-e-up of any sort, to protect them from rain, cold or snow, Captain Simpson did not see among them." 342 [181] [132]

The root for house in Washo is angal. The winter house is galis dangal, the sweat house is teshmangal, and the brush blind and fishing house is ma?angal. The Washo also built a summer or temporary shelter (gadu) and a summer shade (ta?a). [192]

The galis dangal (Plate V,A) literally means "winter house", but it was used the year around or left in the summer and returned to in the winter. If it had been built by a family one winter and the next summer someone of the family died while at Lake Tahoe or elsewhere away from the galis dangal, the family would return sometime that year to the galis dangal to tear it down, leaving everything to rot. A less common alternative was to burn the dwelling. The deceased would be buried wherever he died. The practice was to tear the building down when a member of the family who had lived in it died, even if the death did not occur within the house. In recent years it became the [768] [754] [175]

Trade

Trade and gift exchange were not clearly separate in Washo society. However, the language does distinguish between sharing (mibʔshigihi) and trading (damalu).[1] In trade there tended to be immediate reciprocation while gift exchange often involved a time lapse. Trade also tended to be competitive and to increase with less intensive social ties. Trade involved explicit negotiation and social status was secondary as a factor in the transaction. Trade involved an impersonal relation which focused on the economic goods rather than upon the social relations of persons involved.

Washo trade was an estimated one or two percent of the total distribution. Four types of trade are recognized: (1) silent, without face-to-face interaction; (2) personal, where personal ties are relatively important; (3) administered, based on governmental rules; and (4) market, which is relatively free from personal and governmental ties. Washo trade in this framework was "personal".

Hank Pete maintained that women would often trade under circumstances in which men would ordinarily give gifts. Trade proceeded with little haggling. The transaction was initiated by either a buyer or a seller. It took the form of propositions, questions, and answers such as "I'll trade you this for that. This one? No, that one! I need more for that one. Then I'll include this, too. We can trade then." Trade with non-Washo was conducted through gestures and a few key words understood by both parties, such as damalu for "trade".

The Washo lacked rigid standards of reference, that is, the valuation of two materials to be traded in terms of a third material. Goods were traded without reference to their value in other goods and without a traditional exchange rate. For this reason it was difficult to collect data on equivalencies of value or rates of exchange.

From descriptions of actual transactions, and by insisting on some relative values of objects, the following scale was established by this writer. Hank Pete said that rabbit nets were never traded. They were too valuable. Many things, because of tradition or personal desires, were not traded. Such things might be a shaman's paraphernalia, a bow that had killed a number of deer, or food and clothing needed for survival. Freed and Freed (n.d., 10) state that the loss or destruction of a shaman's curing implements was a cause of illness to the shaman.

Certain things were near the top of the value scale. A double rabbit skin blanket, a large coiled water tight cooking basket (giuleu), a whole buck deer, and three tanned deer skins were roughly equal in value. Hank Pete said he had never heard of anyone who had three tanned deer skins, and a

1. A loan word from Miwok, according to William H. Jacobsen, Jr. (personal communication).

person never traded a whole deer. This indicates that the hide was about one-third the value of the deer.

Pinenuts were often carried and stored in certain kinds of buckskin bags and willow baskets. A tugabul full of pinenuts in the shell was something of a standard of measurement. The tugabul was a coarse scoop-shaped, open twined tray used for winnowing and roasting. It would hold about five gallons of pinenuts leveled to the rim of the basket.

Another basket used for measuring was the bayudate which was a single rod coiled bowl-shaped basket that varied in capacity from about a pint to two quarts. By converting from tugabul and bayudate to pints, quarts, and gallons it was possible to describe the value of a few objects in terms of volume of pinenuts. The following relationships were estimated by Hank Pete for a period in the middle of winter when food surplus was somewhat low: (1) a magpie tail feather = 1 pint; (2) an obsidian knife = 1 quart; (3) a pair of moccasins, an eagle tail feather, or a tugabul basket = 2 quarts; (4) a sinew backed bow and three arrows with stone points = 4 gallons; (5) an untanned deer skin = 6 gallons; and (6) a tanned deer skin = 7 gallons.

It is assumed that in late winter, when pinenuts were more scarce, this ideal scale of values would shift so that fewer pinenuts were worth more manufactured goods. Considerably more research needs to be done in this regard. The influence of extreme scarcity on the character of economic distributions is a problem that cannot be dealt with here.

The Washo had little trade with non-Washo peoples. Several influences appear to have contributed to this fact. The languages of the surrounding peoples were unintelligible. The Washo lived in a mountainous country where transportation by foot was difficult and occasionally impossible in the winter. They also ranged a large, productive, and diversified environment that supplied almost every kind of good used except ocean shells. A trek from Carson Valley over the Sierra Nevada for acorns (malung) might take them into every kind of vegetation zone and natural habitat in the Sierras. Salt (ungabi)[1] was available in Antelope Valley, obsidian (patsaga) from Mono Lake country, and red ochre (sawasang) from an area south of the present town of Dayton, Nevada. Foods such as pinenuts (tegum), fish (etabi), rabbits (p¢lleu), and deer (m¢mdewi) were plentiful within Washo territory.

1. This word (ungabi) came from the Shoshonean stock of languages so that phonetic variations of it were used by the Northern and Southern Paiute, the Ute, and Shoshoni (Steward 1938, 275-283).

and status values" as opposed to the subsistence economy which is "the exploitation of the plentiful natural resources available to any industrious individual." Among the Washo material goods flow almost indiscriminately in promoting subsistence and prestige. Washo social prerogatives and status values are intimately intertwined with the exploitation of natural resources.

Cappannari (1960, 140) wrote that "DuBois...makes clear that the 'monies' (that is, dentalia, woodpecker scalps, obsidian blades, and so on) of the Tolowa-Tututni served as a medium of exchange primarily in the prestige economy rather that the subsistence economy. The same applies to the 'monies' of the Shoshoneans." Money in this sense is a counter of prestige, usually items of highly congealed value in the world of social ritual, but not fully explained in terms of food, shelter, or defense. Prestige money is found among the Washo in the case of eagle feathers and fine woven baskets. These have congealed values for purposes of social ritual. They are also more significant in the context of social ritual than in the context of economic actuality, although ritual and economics coincide at many points.

Money is defined by Driver and Massey (1957, 382) as "material which possesses homogeneity, portability, divisibility, durability, and which serves as a medium of exchange, as a store of value, and as a standard of deferred payments." Pinenuts came the closest to being used as a "money" in Washo economy except that pinenuts were not very durable and lacked the compactness to serve as a concentrated store of value. Salt, eagle tail feathers, baskets, and skins were more concentrated in value. The Washo had no regular medium of exchange and no standard of deferred payments. In the definition used here they had no money. Three terms are now used to refer to wealth; bilada is U. S. currency, gidatwadota is a person's belongings, and m¢mgiwa is the wealth a person has with which to gamble or "a bet."

Overproduction

In Washo society some economic products were never distributed. This "problem of surplus" existed, in a society where starvation was well known, because storage and transportation were inadequate and trade was poorly developed.

An example is the overproduction of pinenuts. In years with abundant pinenuts, more was gathered than would actually be consumed. Since some nuts would be preserved into the next year this was a stored margin of safety in case the next year's crop was low. If pinenuts were again abundant, the remainder of the old crop that was not consumed was left to rot and the new nuts were gathered. Actually, any single grove of pinon trees will not

dance gave a reason for its omission, such as her attendance at a government boarding-school. In general, the ceremony is scrupulously observed. The modern ceremony is a modified version of the old one. The girl no longer climbs a mountain; she climbs a small hill. An automobile is waiting for her when she returns; she wears her slip when she is being bathed instead of being naked as was formerly the custom; she abstains from meat for only two weeks instead of a month; the second dance is usually omitted. Yet the essentials of the ceremony are maintained; and this is in the face of the teasing to which the Indian girl is exposed from her white schoolmates, for the public puberty ceremony makes her a conspicuous social object at the time of her first menses.

Marriages were celebrated with a minimum of ceremony. The most desirable Washo marriage was one arranged by the parents of the bride and groom. Such a marriage was preceded by an exchange of presents. To refuse a present was to reject the prospective bride or groom. Following the exchange of gifts, the new couple began to live together without further ceremony (Curtis, 1926, p. 97; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). The exchange of presents was optional, and occasionally a boy and girl would live together without the benefit of parental arrangements (Barrett, 1917, p. 9; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). Perhaps arranged marriages were never very frequent or else the custom began to die out very early, for in my interviews I found only two arranged marriages out of a total of forty-eight. Today, most people marry in the "tribal" manner, that is, they just begin to live together. Even those few who have purchased marriage licenses usually neglect to go to a justice of peace to complete the ceremony officially.

Curtis (1926, p. 97) says that the dead were formerly cremated. Lowie (1939, p. 310) and Barrett (1917, p. 9) confirm this but add that, by the time they studied the Washo, burial had replaced cremation. Following cremation, the Washo collected the bones of the dead person and placed them in a creek. The clothes and personal property of the deceased person were burned or hidden and the house he used was abandoned. The old men and women cut their hair and mourned for three months (Lowie, 1939, p. 310).

Modern funerals retain many Indian practices. Chief among them are the customs intended to make sure that the ghost of the dead person does not return to trouble the living. Before the body is lowered into the grave, an old man steps forward and makes a speech instructing the ghost to stay away. All of the dead person's property that can be buried is interred with him. Personal property must be destroyed, for this is the "road" by which the ghost of the dead can return and trouble the living.

RELIGION AND CURING

The shaman was the principal religious figure. He possessed supernatural power (wegeléyu) which he received in dreams and which he learned to control during an apprenticeship of several years under an experienced shaman. A shaman could use his power either to cure sickness or to kill. Supernatural power could come from the deer, rattlesnake, "water-baby" (a small, white, manlike creature which lived in streams, springs, and lakes), bear, and eagle. The Washo call both the sources of power and the power itself wegeléyu.

The word also denotes the implements used in curing.

A curing ceremony usually lasted four nights although it was sometimes reduced to two. The rites were the same each night. For the first three nights, the shaman would stop around midnight; on the final night he continued until dawn. The shaman's techniques consisted largely of smoking, singing the songs he had received from his wegeléyu, praying, and finally sucking out the cause of the disease. This might be an insect, a pine nut, a small piece of bone, or some other small object. The shaman's paraphernalia included a rattle, a straight stone pipe, and, for at least one shaman, a bone whistle.

Two shamans were active among the Washo as recently as a few years ago. Today, only one remains alive, and he is an old man. When he dies, shamanism will disappear. Modern Washo medicine is a mixture of shamanism, white medicine, and curing through peyote meetings. Any or all remedies may be tried by a particular patient. The older people are reluctant to go to the government doctor, for they have a fear of being placed in the hospital. They tend to patronize the shaman and the peyote cult in preference to the white doctor. The peyotists, though sincere believers, also recognize the powers of the shaman and the white doctor and readily patronize either of them. The younger people, however, prefer modern medicine; and it is steadily displacing the other two methods of curing.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND LEADERS

Washo political organization was extremely simple. Settlements were minute; Lowie's informants said that they usually had only two to four huts (1939, p. 303). Each settlement was politically independent. Washo informants report the presence of tribal chiefs, but Lowie thinks that this was probably a recent development (1939, p. 303). The chief's sole function was to arrange dances and to make speeches exhorting the Washo to be good and to behave properly. Special headmen led the communal antelope, deer, and rabbit hunts. The antelope chief received his power in dreams; the other two hunting chiefs were secular officers.

The political organization of the modern Washo is more complex. They have adopted a written constitution and they elect a tribal council. Yet this new complexity is largely nominal, for the council exercises little real power and each family does pretty much as it pleases. The chief responsibilities of the council are to manage the small amount of tribal property and to maintain the water supply in Dresslerville, Nevada. Though these are relatively simple matters, the council handles them quite ineptly. Factional fights and personal antagonisms block any really effective council action. The older people, who run the council, seem incapable of dealing with the important problems which face the modern Washo; and the younger people appear to take little interest in council affairs. In short, the Washo have not yet developed an effective political organization.

WARFARE

Warfare seems to have been waged under the leadership of any renowned fighter. The leader collected his